1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

ANCIENT LINEAGES

The fact that most of the modern lineages do not antedate 1600 in their traditional origins causes speculation as to what the lineages were before that date. That there were earlier lineages seems without a shadow of doubt, for it seems inconceivable that lineages suddenly originated with the assassination of Takalaua in the fifteeenth century. Moreover, the apparently transient character of the modern lineages, which obviously depend upon the political prestige of their heads, makes it all the more apparent that there must have been similar groups before 1450. A traditionally older lineage is the Haa Talafale. Perhaps more ancient is the Haa Vaipoa, reputed to antedate the Tui Tonga's control of the Vavau group. This *haa* seems to be without members to-day. Its god was probably Mahina, who went from Vavau to Tongatabu with water in his mouth, which he dropped at Tufumahina.

Tongan place names seem to offer a clue to the ancient lineages. Of place names recorded, 284 begin with the stem *haa*, the term used in designating the several great modern lineages. (See 25, pp. 77-89.) Although to-day these names refer only to places and not to people, it is conceivable that they once referred to the people who lived in these places. This view is strengthened when it is noted that several of the place names refer to ancient chiefs and are thus comparable to the modern lineage names. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho stated that most of the tracts which formerly belonged to the Tui Tonga had names beginning with the stem *haa*.

Among other things, the place names refer to bodily peculiarities (Haailz, family or lineage with a mark on the body; Haamotuavae, family of the big toe), to occupations (Haafata, family of bearers; Haafetuku, family of carriers; Haafeuni, family of weavers; Haafota, family of masseurs), and to plants and animals (Haahenga, family of the parrakeet; Haakaho, family of the reeds; Haakulu, family of the *kulu* trees; Haalai, family of the *lai* fish.) These plant and animal names suggest a former totemism, but more likely refer to the plant or animal sacred to the god of the lineage: an assumption in accord with the modern lineages, which had patron deities and sacred animals, although there was no belief in descent from animals.

The multiplicity of these supposed lineages revealed by place names makes it likely that the ancient lineages comprised much smaller numbers of people than the few lineages to-day. On the other hand, granting that the place names do stand for ancient lineages, it is unlikely that they were all contemporaneous. Doubtless old ones died out, or were submerged by changing political fortunes, and new ones arose, just as the most powerful modern lineages have arisen within the last three centuries.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

An example of what was probably an ancient lineage is represented by the place name Haaloau (Haa Loau). The Loau referred to was a prominent chief of the district of Haamea, Tongatabu, who is reported to have held land also on Lifuka Island where a district and a cemetery are called Haaloau. In the cemetery were buried people of high rank, related to Tui Haa Teiho. The paternal aunt of Tui Haa Teiho said that Loau was the Tui Haa Loau, or lord of the people of the lineage of Loau. Loau's daughter Nua became the mother of Tuitatui, the eleventh traditional Tui Tonga. Likewise, the twenty-ninth Tui Tonga, Uluakimata I, was reputed a descendant of the famous Loau. However, all the Tui Tonga after Tuitatui must have had Loau's blood in their veins, if tradition is correct; hence the special mention of Uluakimata I is not clear. It is possible a second and much later Loau is referred to.

The western portion (Kolomotua) of the modern capital Nukualofa is comprised of several tracts (*api*) which bear *haa* names. They are Haafakaafe, Haahio, Haaloto, Haamea, Haasimi, Haatelie, Haavaka, and Haavakaotua. The Prince Consort Tungi and his late father Tukuaho belonged to—that is, they resided in— Haavakaotua. Actually, of course, these two chiefs are members of the lineage Haa Takalaua. Yet it is modern Tongan practice to think of co-residence as constituting people into a social group. In fact several informants gave place names for family names.

My informants also spoke of certain modern villages as comprising certain named families, meaning actually that the villages comprised people from certain localities, brought together by the new system of village residence. It is likely that the people in each ancient locality did constitute a single family. But when the informants give the place name as the family name, the European type of family name must not be understood. It is not a surname and it changes with change of residence. For example, the mayor of Moungaone, Haapai, said that there were four families in his island: Haalolovi, Haanukuola, Haavaitongo, Haatolu. The mayor belonged to Haalolovi, the ancestor (*tefito*) of which was a man named Kavauhi who lived on a tract of that name. It happens that I have no record of these four *haa* names as place names, so it is possibly they represent a survival of the ancient small lineages which I have postulated.

Place names beginning with the stem *haa* form 7 per cent of the total number of place names in Tongatabu, 4 per cent of the total number in Haapai, 3 per cent in Vavau, 3 per cent in Niuafoou, and 3 per cent in Niuatoputapu.

Of the total number of place names beginning with the stem *haa*, those peculiar to each island group are recorded in Table 4, which shows that Vavau has much the smallest percentage. If these names really stand for

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

social groups, this fact would indicate that the Vavau population was linked with other populations to a greater extent than the population of any one of the other groups.

TABLE 4. HAA NAMES PECULIAR TO ISLAND GROUPS

GROUP	TOTAL NAMES	PECULIAR NAMES	PERCENTAGE PECULIAR
Tongatabu	156	117	75
Haapai	68	37	54
Vavau	42	14	33
Niuafoou	13	9	69
Niuatoputapu	5	3	60
TOTAL	284	180	

The sharing of *haa* names between the five island groups is shown in Table 5. It will be noted that Tongatabu and Vavau have nearly as many names in common as have adjacent Tongatabu and Haapai, yet Haapai has many more *haa* names than has Vavau. This apparently indicates that the influence of Tongatabu as the political center of the kingdom was far-reaching, and that Vavau borrowed more from distant Tongatabu than from nearby Haapai. If it is true that these *haa* place names really stand for ancient lineages, it would seem that Vavau and Haapai have both been largely settled by Tongatabu people or vice versa.

TABLE 5. HAA NAMES IN COMMON

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU
Tongatabu				
Haapai	26			
Vavau	24	15		
Niuafoou	4	3	3	
Niuatoputapu	2	2	1	0

Table 6 shows the percentage of names which each island group shares with every other island group. It is interesting to note that Vavau shares more than half of its place names with distant Tongatabu and only a little over a third with adjacent Haapai. Because the total number of names in Tongatabu is much greater than in Haapai, the chances of sharing more with Vavau are increased. But, operating against this is geographic remoteness and the interposition of Haapai. It would seem therefore that the large percentage of names which Vavau shares with Tongatabu is due to historic connection. So far as known, only Tongatabu has been the home of the Tui Tonga and the seat of government for the whole kingdom.

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TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF HAA NAMES SHARED

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU	NIUATOPUTAPU
Tongatabu		17*	15	3	1
Haapai	38		22	4	3
Vavau	57	36		7	2
Niuafoou	31	25	23		0
Niuatoputapu	40	40	30	0	

* This table is to be read horizontally, thus Tongatabu shares 17 per cent of its names with Haapai.

In an attempt to express the total interrelations of each pair of island groups by a single figure, I present in Table 7 a sort of percentage-index figure which is the average of the two percentages expressing the proportion of shared names between each two island groups. Thus, as shown, in Table 6, Tongatabu shares 17 per cent of its names with Haapai; Haapai shares 38 per cent of its names with Tongatabu. The percentage-index would then be the sum of 17 and 38, divided by 2, or 28.

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE-INDEX OF HAA NAMES SHARED

	TONGATABU	HAAPAI	VAVAU	NIUAFOOU
Tongatabu				
Haapai	28			
Vavau	36	29		
Niuafoou	17	14	15	
Niuatoputapu	21	22	11	0

Table 7 shows the relationship of shared haa-names to be closest between Tongatabu and Vavau (index 36); then follows Haapai and Vavau and Tongatabu and Haapai. In view of the geographic separation of Tongatabu and Vavau by the intervening Haapai group and in view of the lower index for Tongatabu and adjacent Haapai, it seems apparent that the high index figure for Tongatabu and Vavau is due to historic causes.

TAUVU

The Fijian term *tauvu* has been used by Thomson (56, p. 5) to express the special relationship which exists between two tribes or villages which worship the same god.

Inquiry in Tonga elicited information about *tauvu* in only two places. The people of Tungua Island, Haapai, and Moala and Ketei in the windward islands of Fiji (32) are *tauvu* to each other; that is, they have the same god and so have full right to each other's goods.

Okoa Island, Vavau, which is the hereditary land of the Tui Lakepa, a chief of Fijian ancestry, is called *tauvu* to Ofu Island because smaller and dependent. Perhaps the real reason is that anciently they worshipped the same god.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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fortifications; making ropes, bows and arrows, clubs and spears, which are practised by men, whilst the manufacture of *gnatoo*, mats, baskets, thread, combs, &c., constitute the occasional employment of the women, even of those of rank. We shall give an account of each of the principal arts, beginning with those that are strictly professional.

Fo VACA, canoe-building. As it would be impossible to give an intelligible and accurate description of this ingenious and useful art, without referring to well-executed plates, and as this has been already so ably done in Cook's and d'Entrecasteaux's voyages, we presume it would be but an unnecessary intrusion upon the attention of the reader to attempt entering into such a description. It may here be noticed, however, that the Tonga people have obtained a considerable share of information in the art of building and rigging canoes, from the natives of the Fiji islands. It has already been observed, that, in all probability, the communication between these two nations, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, began on the part of the Tonga people, who being situated to windward, it is very likely that one or more of their canoes were formerly drifted to the Fiji islands by stress of weather; and although they have no tradition of such a cir-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

cumstance, yet this one consideration tends strongly to corroborate the idea. It is highly probable that neither of them went out on a voyage of discovery, or if such an opinion be admitted, there is little doubt but that the people of Tonga first made the attempt, although the construction and rigging of their canoes were at that time far inferior. The grounds for this opinion are, first, their situation to windward, and secondly, their superior enterprising spirit, in affairs of navigation, which may be said to constitute a feature of their national character. Their superiority in this respect is so great, that no native of Fiji, as far as is known, ever ventured to Tonga but in a canoe manned with Tonga people, nor ever ventured back to his own islands, but under the same guidance and protection. If we look to the voyage of Cow Mooala, related in Chap. 10,[A] we cannot but entertain a very favourable idea of his maritime skill. He sailed from the Fiji islands for those of Tonga, but the state of the weather prevented him making them; then he steered for the Navigator's islands; and the weather being still unfavourable, he was drifted to Fotoona, where his canoe was destroyed, and his cargo of sandal wood taken from him. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, as soon as another large canoe was built, he again ventured

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 307-336--Analyst]

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

103 128 Table 6 reveals the fact that Vavau is more closely tied to Tongatabu than is Haapai, whether the index is considered as based on total names or on shared names only. The index differences are not large, being two in the first instance and one in the second. They would seem to indicate that intercourse between Tongatabu and Vavau has been fully as great or slightly greater than between Tongatabu and Haapai. The names exclusively shared by Tongatabu and Vavau total 212, by Tongatabu and Haapai 193; whereas the names exclusively shared by these three groups [174] [631] total only 132. Perhaps the explanation of this lies in the supreme political position of Tongatabu, from which the emissaries of the Tui Tonga were continually going forth to the other groups to collect tribute and to carry out many other missions. On the other hand the fact must not be overlooked that the high index figures which connect Haapai, Vavau, and Niuafoou most closely with Tongatabu are to some extent due to the great number of place names in Tongatabu (2264) increasing the chances for a high percentage of shared names. The only group that fails in this regard is Niuatoputapu, which by both reckonings (in Table 6) has most in common with Vavau; Tongatabu runs a close second—only two index units below Vavau—whether it is considered from the standpoint of all names or shared names only. Apparently the propinquity of Niuatoputapu and Vavau may be adduced as the explanation.

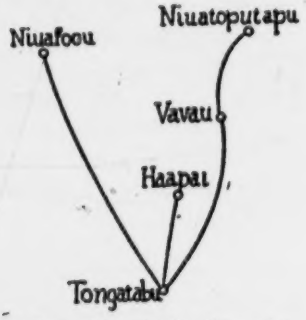
While speaking of Niuatoputapu in relation to Vavau, it might be well to note the aloofness that appears to exist between Niuatoputapu and Niuafoou shown in Table 6 by the two lowest index figures, 10 and 22.5. 103 Apparently the two Niuas were concerned more with Vavau, Haapai, and [174] Tongatabu than with each other. This again would seem likely to be [631] correlated with the larger population and greater political importance of the three main groups of the archipelago. Of the three main groups Tongatabu and Vavau have more in common with the outlying Niuas than has Haapai.

The position of centrally located Haapai is anomalous. It has been already noted that she has less in common with Tongatabu than has Vavau. Just above it has been noted that she has less in common with the two Niuas than have Tongatabu and Vavau. Now comes the third negative correlation and by far the most significant of all: Her lack of relationship with the remote Niuas is quite eclipsed by the aloofness she displays towards her northern neighbor Vavau. Whether the indexes based on all names is used or that on shared names only, the situation is the same and glaringly apparent—in both Haapai has relatively less in common with Vavau than with the other four groups of the kingdom, thus violating expectancy based on the law of chanre and expectancy based on geo-

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

graphic propinquity. Actually Haapai and Vavau have only 86 names exclusively in common, while Haapai and Tongatabu have 193, and Tongatabu and Vavau 212. The evidence seems to point to some disturbing historical factor, perhaps intermittent hostility such as was rife between Haapai and Vavau during Mariner's sojourn in Tonga.

The situation revealed by the distribution of Tongan place names is roughly shown by the accompanying diagram which is based on the assumption that the principal diffusion has been from the large groups to the small ones. Numerous minor diffusions have doubtless taken place, many of them being reciprocated—that is, for example, not only have names flowed outward from Tongatabu, but they have likewise flowed inward to Tongatabu.



The diagram, and in fact this whole discussion, tacitly assumes a primacy for Tongatabu, not only politically, but also in length of period of human occupation. In regard to this last point I should like to state that kitchen middens several feet in depth are to be found in a number of places in the Tongatabu group. With the exception of a thin surface of blackened soil with scattered shell, which I observed on Euakafa island in the Vavau group, I failed to find either in Haapai or Vavau any evidences of prolonged occupancy comparable with those in Tongatabu. Of course, the Tongatabu shell heaps may be interpreted as indicating a denser population, but it would be rash to entirely cast aside the theory of longer occupancy. Quite likely the magnitude of the shell heaps is due to both factors, longer occupancy and denser population.

SAMOAN PLACE NAMES IN TONGA

Five hundred and sixteen place names mentioned by Krämer[19] have been examined for Tongan parallels. One hundred and one of the Samoan

[19] Krämer, Augustin, Die Samoa-Inseln, Stuttgart, 1902, 1903.

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

103 177 names, or nearly twenty per cent, are employed in Tonga, being distributed among the five groups as follows: Tongatabu 71, Vavau 47, Haapai 40, Niuafoou 15, and Niuatoputapu 9.

The order of frequency of Samoan names in Tonga is very nearly the order of frequency of Tongan names. (See Table 1.) Again Haapai is out of accord with expectancy. Haapai has 1610 names against Vavau's 1513, yet Vavau has 47 names in common with Samoa against Haapai's 40. A full gazetteer of Samoan place names would probably maintain the proportions revealed by the present sample. Here, perhaps, is another clue to the anomalous position of Haapai in reference to the rest of Tonga. Tongatabu and Vavau have absorbed more Samoan place names than Haapai, or conversely, perhaps, Samoa has borrowed more names from Tongatabu and Vavau, than from Haapai.

[128] The high proportion of Samoan names found in Tongatabu is probably due in some measure to the large number of place names (2264) in Tongatabu, increasing the chances for Samoan parallels. On the other hand 177 174 there are some Tongatabuans with Samoan blood in their veins. Even 144 the line of Tui Kanokupolu chiefs now supreme in Tonga, sprang from a 643 Samoan woman, the mother of Ngata the first Tui Kanokupolu, who was probably appointed about 1610. It is this line of rulers, half Samoan in origin, who today hold the throne of Tonga, Her Majesty Queen Char- 177 lotte Tupou being the 21st Tui Kanokupolu. It seems clear therefore that 174 the high percentage of Samoan names in Tongatabu, more than a tenth 103 of those listed for Samoa by Krämer, is due to something more than the operation of the law of chance.

177 103 It is worthy of note in this connection that of names shared exclusively by Samoa and one Tongan group, Tongatabu and Samoa have 27, Haapai and Samoa 7, Vavau and Samoa 7. In other words, of the 71 names common to Samoa and Tongatabu, 27 are shared by Samoa and Tongatabu [174] to the exclusion of other Tongan groups. This is very likely correlated with the direct infusion of Samoan blood into the population of Tongatabu.

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

convenience in attending frequent church services, and the copra trade are probably the chief factors responsible for the growth of the villages and for the degeneration of agriculture. Today the Tongan resides in a village from which he makes the necessary excursions to his farm. Anciently he resided on the farm (*api*) and there were no villages. Needless to say, the extent of cultivated land is much diminished.

Too much faith should not be placed in the meanings of place names listed. The average Tongan appears to give no more thought to the meaning of his place names than we do. If asked what a name means, it is an even chance he will not know. The meanings of almost all place names in this paper were worked out by Tongan scholars, European and native. These meanings have all been studied by the author and modified where it seemed necessary. Nevertheless, some meanings are undoubtedly forced, and, what is more, it sometimes happens that a name is open to more than one interpretation.

Even with these short-comings in mind it is apparent that the meanings of names fall roughly into two great classes, descriptive and commemorative. The former refer to some feature of the locality, the latter to some event, usually trivial enough. There are also names of foreign places. Undoubtedly when comparison with other regions is made these will increase many fold. Apparently some names express in sarcasm or irony the injured feelings of the tenant of the tract, for it must be remembered that land is not owned by the rank and file of the population. It is leased from the government and from the nobility, there being in all some thirty such landlords. The rentals paid today in coin replace the ancient tribute of produce paid to the lords of the land.

The name of the landlord has been recorded for every tract; the absence of a personal name signifies that the government is the landlord.

So far as Tonga alone is concerned, the names of the landlords appear of slight significance in solving the problem of Tongan origins. Here and there a place name appears definitely associated with a landlord, as the place name Haatalafale with the landlord Tui Pelehake. I believe, however, that the recording of the landlord names will prove exceedingly valuable when comparisons are made with other parts of Oceania.

In the gazetteer the several occurrences of a single name are listed from the Tongatabu group in the south to Niuafoou in the north. Roughly the order of listing the occurrences on several islands in a group, or near several villages on an island, is from south to north and from west to east. The reason for selecting the southern or Tongatabu group as the starting point is the fact that it seems always to have been the political and cultural center of the Tongan kingdom. The names of the five groups of

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

103 **Avavahaafonua.** Passage between lands [ava, passage; vahaa, short distance between islands; fonua, land]. Strait between Luangahu and Hakauata islands (H).

Aveta. To be deprived of a row of bananas [ave, to deprive of; ta, row of bananas]. Tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Ahomee, landlord.

Avokaia. Avocadoes (alligator pears) in abundance [avoka, avocado; ia, to abound]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Ee. Name of a fish. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Efeso. Biblical name Ephesus. Tract on Matuku island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Eiesi. English proper name Elsie. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Eli. The word may be keli with the k dropped as in Samoan, in which case its probable meaning is "ditch." Tract on Okoa island (V). Also tract near Utulei, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Eliii. Certain of the species of the genus Turbo, univalve shells. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Elimi. Biblical name Elim. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Enelo. Two persons to go and report something with the design of causing laughter [enei, to report anything with the design of causing laughter; o, to go, applied to two or more]. Beach near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

Esia. The handle of any tool. Tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also district on Niuafoou island (NF).

Esiomoheofo. Mound of the chief wife of the Tui Tonga [esi, artificial mound; o, of; moheofo, chief wife of the Tui Tonga]. Mound near Pangai, village on Eua island (T). On weather side, east of the village of Pangai. The mound is said to have been made by the people of Eua for the first moheofo who resided in Eua and who is said to have chosen Eua as a residence because of the cooler dwelling sites offered by the hills and valleys of the island in contrast to flat Tongatabu. It is probable that the moheofo referred to is the historic Tupoumoheofo, the wife of Tui Tonga Pau of Captain Cook's time.

103 174

103 [773] **Eua.** Belonging to the corner of an axe [eu, corner of an axe; a, belonging to]. Island (T). The name probably alludes to the mythical origin of Eua, which is said to have been formed of the dust from the grindstone of the god Tangaloa Tufunga, which was poured down from the sky. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Makaunga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Manuka, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Euakafa. Coconut-fiber rope of Eua [eua, see above; kafa, cordage made from the fibers of the coconut husk]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also island (V). Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Eueiki. Little Eua [eue, equals eua with vowel changed, name of large island of Tongatabu group; iki, little, small]. Island (T). Also tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also island (V). Tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord.

Eveeva. To walk at pleasure. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

TONGAN MYTHOLOGY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TONGANS

Though it is premature for a detailed comparison of Tongan mythology with other Polynesian mythologies, the writer has attempted a rough approximation of the affinities of Tongan mythology to the mythologies of the great areas of the Pacific as presented in Roland B. Dixon's "Oceanic Mythology."[1]

Having Tongan mythology quite thoroughly in mind, Dixon's book on Oceanic mythology was read and a check mark entered in the margin wherever an episode appeared to have a Tongan parallel. If error was made it was on the side of entering too many check marks, for undoubtedly some of the episodes checked as having Tongan parallels, in truth have not, as the resemblance in certain instances was rather remote. Upon completing the book it was found that there were sixty-seven check marks in the Polynesian part, forty-eight in the Indonesian, twenty-seven in the Micronesian, ten in the Melanesian, and six in the Australian. These figures undoubtedly represent in a rough fashion the affinities of Tongan mythology. It was to be expected that resemblances to Polynesia would be numerous, and undoubtedly when the other members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition have published their reports the number of resemblances will be materially increased.

The number of parallels between Indonesia and Tonga are astonishingly large, being more than four times the number that are found between Tonga and Melanesia. Many of the resemblances between Tonga and Indonesia are so specific that it is hard to believe they are merely accidental. In fact, the high number of resemblances, forty-eight, would preclude accident as the sole factor, especially when contrasted with only ten resemblances between Tonga and adjacent Melanesia.

The paucity of the Micronesian material undoubtedly accounts for the fact that only twenty-seven resemblances were found between it and Tongan material. On the other hand, allowing for the scarcity of Micronesian material, this is a fairly high figure and would seem to indicate that the connection between Tonga and Indonesia is by way of Micronesia rather than Melanesia.

The Tongan myths and tales in themselves throw a little light on the geographic aspect of Tongan origins.

In looking over the field of Tongan mythology, one is struck by the frequency of derivation of plants and fishes from Samoa, from the sky, and from Pulotu (the land of the gods), and by the absence of allusions to Fiji as a place from which useful plants and animals have been derived.

[1] Dixon, Roland B., The mythology of all races: Oceanic, vol. 9, Boston, 1916.

127 171 121 127 128 171 171 128 174 773 538 [113]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

It seems to me that this very absence of mention of Fiji is negative evidence of the relatively late contact with Fiji. On the other hand, the references to Samoa indicate an early contact with that group, which in the Maui tale, even furnishes the fishhook with which the island of Tongatabu is hauled to the surface. It seems to me, too, that these facts have a bearing on the theory of the probable route of migration of the Tongans; or to state more nearly what is in my mind, that they give us some clue as to the direction from which the Tongans came; probably not by wholesale migration, but by gradual infiltration. The negative evidence of the myths and tales makes it clear that it was not Fiji, and that Fiji did not lie in their route of travel to their present habitat. The positive evidence of the myths and tales, on the other hand, makes it very clear that Samoa lay in the line of travel, and that undoubtedly when heaven and Pulotu are referred to, it is lands beyond Samoa which are meant.

The points just adduced from the preceding myths and tales, therefore, would seem to support the theory that the Tongans have entered their present territory by way of Micronesia, rather than by way of Melanesia. The idea of the Polynesians entering their island homes by way of Micronesia rather than Melanesia, was proclaimed as early as 1799 in the Voyage of the Duff, where on pages 85 and 86 of the Preliminary Discourse, the following is set forth:

"It must not, however, be omitted, that people of the same race with the natives of the groups [Tabiti, Tonga, Marquesas] we have described, are dispersed over the Ladrone and Caroline islands, which lie north of the Equator, and extend from the 130th to the 175th degree of east longitude; and they have reached from the latter group, or from some intermediate places not yet discovered, to the Sandwich islands, which are situated between 155° and 160° west longitude, and 19° and 22° north latitude. Crossing the Equator, probably from the more eastern of the Caroline islands, they have spread over the clusters of which we have given an account, and from the Friendly islands have reached the large country of New Zealand, ...; while from Otaheite, or some of the islands south-east of it, they have made a surprising stretch to the solitary spot called Easter Island. The language and customs of this widely scattered nation have been traced to the coasts of the great Asiatic islands, Luzon and Borneo, and from thence to the peninsula of Malacca, the Aurea Chersonesus, beyond which the geographical knowledge of the ancients can hardly be said to have extended. The astonishing migrations of this race seem to have originated, like those of the northern Europeans, from designs of conquest. These they carried into effect on the coasts of the grand Asiatic archipelago, driving back the black natives of those very extensive islands to the interior mountains which they still occupy as a distinct and independent people. But the migrations of the fairer race from the Philippine islands to the Carolines, and farther eastward, have almost to a certainty been occasioned by stress of weather, which drove their canoes from island to island, and from one group to another, that had not before been peopled. Frequent incidents of this nature have been ascertained, and some of them have been specified in our account of the islands connected with Otaheite. The population of islands so widely scattered, cannot, for the greater part be otherwise explained, either upon the ground of established fact, or upon that probable conjecture."

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

174 Certain features of Tongan mythology appear to bear on the internal history of the country.

773 The localization of the Maui adventures in the Vavau and Tongatabu
538 groups, to the exclusion of the Haapai group, is probably more than mere accident. Moreover the Maui tale appears to be a composite of two separate local cycles, one of which makes Koloa in the Vavau group their residence, the other of which makes Eua in the Tongatabu group their residence. The fact should not be overlooked in this connection that Mariner states that Tangaloa was the god who drew the Tonga islands from the deep to the surface of the waters.[4]

In Haapai the place of Maui is largely filled by the hero Muni, whose exploits somewhat resemble Maui's. Peculiar also to Haapai are the stories of the Son of the Sun.

174 The mythological position of Haapai is partly paralleled in place names.
[103] Haapai and Tongatabu have 425 names in common, Vavau and Tongatabu 446, but Vavau and Haapai only 168. Both the mythological and ethnogeographical evidence point to an aloofness of Haapai anciently, particularly in respect to Vavau.

Tongatabu is pre-eminent both ethnogeographically and mythologically.
[103] In an ethnogeographic sense it was the center from which influence flowed both to Haapai and Vavau, judging by the hundreds of place names it
174 holds in common with these two groups. Mythologically, it is the islands
773 of Ata and Tongatabu that are hauled first to the surface of the waters by the Maui. Men, too, were created in the Tongatabu group and furthermore, the first Tui Tonga was the son of a woman of Tongatabu by a divine mate, the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. Even the hero Muni, although he spent his boyhood in Haapai, was of Tongatabuan origin and performed in Tongatabu his doughtiest deeds.

[113] [4] Martin, John, M.D., An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language. Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr. William Mariner, several years resident in those islands. In two volumes. Vol. 2, pp. 116, 121, 1817 edition, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1817.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

FISON'S "TALES FROM OLD FIJI"

Lorimer Fison's Tales from Old Fiji[8] include a number of stories which have Tongan parallels. As Fison's collection is from eastern Fiji, a region with much Tongan blood in its population, the parallels are to be expected. Of the twelve tales he presents, six are matched by the Tongan tales presented in this paper. Two others refer specifically to Tonga, but have no parallels in my collection. Of these two, one concerns Napoleon. The second concerns "The Beginning of Death" and was told by the famous Tongan chief Maafu, whose military operations in Fiji in the last century won him renown.

Maafu's version of the origin of death, to wit: that certain gods came from Pulotu to dwell in Tongatabu and there became mortal and subject to disease and death, was not encountered in any of the tales which I gathered in Tonga. The same motive, however, is recorded in Mariner's work on Tonga[9]. Included in Maafu's tale, as a necessary preliminary to mortal existence, is the land-fishing of Maui, whereby Ata and Tongatabu are hauled from the depths. Then Tongatabu becomes the home of the runaway gods of Pulotu, who become mortal. Maafu's tale conveys a striking picture of the spiteful character of Hikuleo, who becomes the lord of Pulotu, after Tangaloa goes to the sky and Maui goes under Tongatabu to keep it from sinking. Although many details in Maafu's story occur in other Tongan tales, for example, the "water of life" and the "tree of speech," Maafu's particular combination of details and episodes is unique.

Fison's Fijian tales unquestionably are, in large measure, nothing but Tongan tales. Fison points out that many of his tales are notable for their Fijian coloring in spite of their dealing with Tongan characters. He mentions especially the story of Longapoa, and stresses the references to cannibalism. On the whole, references to cannibalism are rather scarce in Tongan tales.

It seems legitimate to regard Fison's tales and my collection as two branches from a single Tongan trunk, branches which separated from the parent stem many generations ago. Each has since pursued its growth with a fair degree of independence. On the one hand, Fison's transplanted tales flourished in a new environment, where they were to a considerable extent influenced by Fijian ideas. On the other hand, the tales which were ultimately collected by me continued to develop in their own native environment. However, intercourse between Tonga and Fiji (especially the Tongan colonists in Fiji) was probably but seldom inter-

[8] De la More Press, London, 1907.
[9] Martin, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 126.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

538 rupted; hence a considerable exchange of ideas must have taken place
171 and to a certain extent have tended to keep the two sets of myths and
174 tales more or less similar in character.

In the account by Taliai Tupou, the lord of Naiau, of "Why the Kings
538 of Lakemba are called Lords of Naiau,"[7] there are certain incidents that
171 are reminiscent of the Tongan tale concerning the origin of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu. Of special note is the ascent to heaven by climbing a casuarina tree. There the hero, the founder of the dynasty, visits his father, the King of Heaven. This episode is too close to the Tongan parallels to admit of any hypothesis other than one of common origin. The Fijian hero is said to have gone to Tonga after he had turned over the rule of Lakemba to his son, Taliai Tupou. In Tonga "also he conquered all the mighty ones; and at length returned to his father, the Sky-King, with whom he lived ever after, receiving the worship of many lands." The conquest of the Tongan chiefs also has its parallel in the tale of Ahoeitu, who establishes a new dynasty of Tui Tonga, displacing the kings who were the descendants of the Worm (Uanga).

The tale of "How the Tongans Came to Fiji"[8] is nothing more nor less than the Tongan story of the turtle Sangone. In the Lakemban version the voyage of the Tongans to Fiji is a sequel which is lacking in the Tongan stories of Sangone. In the Lakemban tales the Tongan crew retain one of the turtle's plates, but tell the Tui Tonga that they left it with the Samoans. The Tui Tonga in anger orders them to voyage at once to Samoa for the missing plate and not to return without it under pain of death. Once beyond the reefs of Tongatabu the crew, in despair, decide to run before the wind, with the result that they fetched Kandavu in Fiji, from whence they were removed by the king of Rewa to Rewa, where they were given land.

A version of the tale of the Son of Sun is included in Fison's Fijian collection,[9] having been told him by Taliai Tupou, the lord of Naiau and king of Lakemba. In general this tale closely parallels the Tongan versions, but ends with the death of the sun-child when he opens the unlucky package Monuia. The marriage to the Tui Tonga's daughter is not even hinted at in the Lakemban version. The Lakemban story is a tale about Tonga, not Fiji. (See pp. 101-120.)

Fison[10] presents a version of the Muni tale from Fiji. It is entitled "The Adventures of Matandua, the One-Eyed." It far exceeds any

[7] Fison, Lorimer, Tales of Old Fiji, pp. 49-57.
[8] Told by Ratu Taliai Tupou, lord of Naiau and king of Lakemba, op. cit. pp. 19-26, London, 1907.
[9] Op. cit., pp. 33-39.
[10] Op. cit., pp. 99-133.

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[For further information on historical reconstruction and history, see Category 172.]

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There is a tradition that an early Tui Tofua was about to kill his son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into one of the great man-eating sharks called *tuifa*. A Samoan on board, not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) to the Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song referring to this exploit.

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Niua Fo'ou, one of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a lake in an old crator in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Niua Fo'ou were three in number, namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*). Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him. Bunga (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Muni, was hiding when his son discovered him. Bunga was overcome by that hero in a wrestling match. This Bunga was the possessor of two enormous *kava* plants, and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Niua Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a framework which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of the two northern groups have well understood relations with Tongatabu, all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Eua and Ata. It is not impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian, and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was

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of later date. The Maui stories may indicate a later wave of immigration. If the Vavau of myth could be identified, at least as far as the Tongan islands are concerned, with the present Vavau in the north of the group, it may be the stopping-place of a wave of Polynesian settlers who found the southern parts of the group already occupied by earlier Polynesian immigrants, or by non-Polynesian people. It is evident that free communication with Fiji is of old date. Various relationships with Fiji are manifest. The language shows layers or words which have come by way of Fiji, of which some have undergone the orthodox morphological modification, and some have not. Possibly the whole question will never be capable of other than conjectural solution. In concluding this very important note on Tongan religion I desire to express my obligations to Tangi, the Tui Haa-takalaua and Consort of Queen of Tonga, to Tuivakano, the Premier, to the chiefs Ata, Ahomee, and Tamale, to the Revs. J. Havea, J. Taufa, H. Talia, and E. Tubou, all of the Methodist Mission, to Buleti, Havili, Fatai and many others who have gladly given such information as they were able about matters of which the recollection is fast fading. I have constantly used also the valuable, but all too small, collection of material in the late Dr. Moulton's Magazine, of which a large part was written by the late David Tonga. I desire also to express my obligations to the Rev. R. O. G. Pope, Chairman of the Methodist Mission, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, of the University of California, who visited Tonga under the auspices of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, from August 1920, to May, 1921.

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more marked in some other groups, such as New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides.

It will also be observed, that the Tonga Islands are the nearest of any to those of New Zealand, from which they are distant about one thousand miles. Hence, it has generally been concluded, that the islands of New Zealand were peopled from thence: a supposition that is strongly borne out, by the close affinity existing between the physical character and habits of the inhabitants, and by the correspondence of their language. Native tradition in New Zealand, indeed, declares, that the first inhabitants arrived from the northward, in two separate canoes, and at a considerable interval of time. The later voyagers are said to have become assured of the presence of their friends in the island, by discovering, on the shore, the beautiful red feathers of the taviki, a bird whose tail feathers are much esteemed by the Tonguese, and others of the South Sea Islanders, in making head-dresses, and in the decoration of mats.

The Fiji Islands lie to the westward, and W.N.W. of the Tongan. A distance of about two hundred miles of clear sea separates their nearest points of approximation. The Navigator, or Samoan Islands, lie to the north and by east, at a distance of about four hundred miles. There are, however, a few isolated islands, tributary to Tonga, lying midway on the direct track of navigation. In an easterly direction, the nearest island, to the Tongan group, is that of Niue, or Savage Island, distant about one hundred and sixty miles.

It will be seen, by a reference to the chart, that the Tonga Islands comprehend three principal and well-defined groups. Fifteen of the islands rise to

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Stretching still further to the north and east, we meet with Toku, Fonua Lei, Niua Tobutabu, Boscawen's Island, and Nuia Foöu. These latter islands have separate governors or kings, who administer affairs without any regular oversight from the chief government in Tonga. Nevertheless, they are thoroughly tributary, and are under the control of the Tonguese sovereigns, whenever necessity arises, or opportunity serves, for intercommunication.

If native tradition is to be credited, the government of Tonga, at one period of its history, extended as far as 13° 30′ south latitude; viz., to Wallis's Island, which, in the native language, is called Uvea. Indeed, that island is said to have been peopled from Tonga; but in what way there is nothing to show. The obvious similarity of language seems to justify this tradition; even although great, and apparently arbitrary, changes have been made in the meaning and use of words common to the vocabularies of both. At present Uvea is within the range of the Friendly Islands District Missionary operations; but it does not, in any way, acknowledge the supremacy of Tonga, and therefore we do not regard it as forming any portion of King George's dominions.

Within the comparatively circumscribed limits here traced upon the bosom of the Pacific, we possess numerous and diversified examples of its peculiar insular system. We have, in the Friendly group, islands of varied dimensions, and in every stage of development, from the isolated coral block, rising abruptly in mid ocean, to form, most likely, in process of time, the nucleus of a future island, to the most perfectly developed and primitive of the

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CHAPTER X.

000 Origin of the Polynesian nation—Ancient maritime discovery—Jewish extraction—Jewish and Tonguese customs—Sketch of Tonguese religion—Character of the Priests—Death by Sorcery—Reputed instance in Hihifo—Political constitution of Tonga—Succession and rank of chiefs—Selection and power of the kings—Land tenure—Homage paid by the lower orders—Anecdote of rival pulpits—Deliberative assemblies—War weapons and laws—Ordinary occupations—Games and amusements—Ceremonies at death, and mode of burial—State of morals—Cannibalism—Anecdote—Tonguese colony on the island of Ata.

174 [193] Like the early history of all savage nations, where the absence of a written language necessitates an entire dependence upon the uncertain medium of oral traditions for what may be known of the past, that of the Tonguese nation is exceedingly obscure, and offers but little to reward the researches of the curious. The origin of the people is involved in the greatest uncertainty, and the comparatively reliable records of national events do not carry us further back than through a period extending over between two and three centuries.

Mr. Crawfurd, the most recent writer of note on the various questions that have been raised in relation to the Polynesian race, and whose opinions as an eminent philologist are worthy of great respect, has advanced a suggestion of no small interest in reference to this people. "Were there," says this author, "any considerable tract of fertile land, much superior to all around it, for the development of an early civilization, we should

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naturally fix upon that as the primitive locality of the Polynesian nation. But although there be several situations greatly superior for such a purpose to others, there is none that can be said to be pre-eminently suited. We can fix, then, only on the most probable; and I think that the Friendly Islands, which are of sufficient extent and fertility to have produced the degree of civilization which the Polynesians had attained, not unlikely to have been the primitive seat of the nation. In tracing the course of migration, and attempting to determine the cradle of the Polynesian nation, the Malayan element of its language is an important consideration. It is found co-extensive with the people and language,—greatest in amount as we come nearer to the Malayan Archipelago, and diminishing as we recede from it; the body of the words being, however, generally the same, and employed in the same sense. May it not hence be inferred, that the Malayan languages were intermixed with the Polynesian tongue before any migrations had taken place; and may not the amount of civilization, however inconsiderable, which the Polynesians received from the Malayan nations, have been the cause which first stimulated the migrations? The Friendly Islands lie toward the western end of that long and continuous chain of islets by which the first migrations from the Malayan Archipelago must have proceeded eastward. It by no means follows, however, that all future swarms were thrown out from these islands, as the original hive. On the contrary, they would, naturally, take place everywhere afterwards, from the localities most convenient for them. From the Friendly Islands, the Polynesian nation and its

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language would, in the first instance, move eastward, along the chain of islands, lying between the 10° and 15° of south latitude, over 50° of longitude, and, eventually, to distant localities more difficult of access."*

Considering the geographical position of Tongatabu and its contiguous dependencies; the undoubted natural superiority of the inhabitants over those of surrounding groups; the prestige which the Tonguese name carries with it wherever it is known in the Pacific; and, finally, the fact that their traditions speak of a time when the population on the main island was so dense, that a sort of telegraphic mouth-to-mouth communication carried tidings between the most distant points in an incredibly short time, we might almost be inclined to sustain Mr. Crawfurd's opinion that in these islands the primitive germ of the Polynesian race was located. Nothing, however, can be advanced with certainty. That the population of these islands was at one time much greater than it is now, we have no doubt; but we think that there are no evidences to show that it was so great as the tradition intimates. Some also of the Tonguese songs and traditions indicate that Samoa has been the source from whence several of the chieftain families have sprung, and from whence also the names of several of the most important localities in Tonga have been derived. This, however, should not be allowed to prove too much. I am, indeed, inclined to think that Samoa is much more likely to have been peopled from Tonga, and that its subsequent

* Preliminary Dissertation to "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language," by John Crawfurd, F.R.S., London, 1852, p. 253.

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discovery by the Tonguese, when its population had become great, led to intermarriages of chieftain families, which, in course of time, would also lead to the introduction of local designations of territory, such as we have named, in both groups of islands.

But supposing the Tonga Islands to have been the primitive starting-point for the diffusion of the Polynesians, over the widely scattered groups of the Pacific, the question still arises, To what distinct family of the human race did they belong, and whence came they? It seems now to be the general belief, of those who have studied the subject, that from Asia, and not America, the tidal wave of population has flowed from shore to shore of these islands. There is no difficulty in accounting for the manner of peopling the various groups, from the Asiatic Continent, and its extensive insular dependencies. It has been found that frail canoes and boats, either by accident or design, have performed voyages of sufficient extent, to have arrived at the most remote lands in the Pacific. Canoes, crowded with occupants, are often picked up at sea, far away from their places of departure, and drifting about at the mercy of the weather. The maritime enterprise of the Malayans is also well known, in the regular and extensive fisheries which they established in ancient times on the northern coasts of New Holland, and throughout the adjacent islands of those seas. Selecting a given route from thence over the Pacific, a vessel might traverse the whole expanse without being more than four or five days out of sight of land, from the Island of Papua, or New Guinea, in the west, to the extreme boundary of the

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174 Paumotu group in the east, a distance of nearly five thousand miles.

It would be unwise, however, to fix upon any one given point of the Asiatic continent, or upon any one island of its adjacent archipelago, as that from whence the Polynesians originally came. There is a general family likeness between all the Polynesians; but there are also so many varieties of feature and physique among them, embracing nearly all the Asiatic types, from the finest Caucasian to that of the Mongolian or Japanese, that it seems more than probable that castaways and wanderers from numerous points on the Asiatic coast, may have arrived on different islands of the Pacific, at periods not very remote from each other. Japanese and Chinese junks have been known to be driven to sea, and have finally been stranded upon distant islands, or have reached even the continent of America, in the 46th degree of north latitude. In December, 1832, one was wrecked on Oahu, in the Sandwich Islands, after having been tossed upon the ocean for eleven months. Four, out of a crew of nine, still survived. Similar accidents have, doubtless, occurred in ages long gone past. Nor must we, in looking for a solution of this question, forget the advanced state of maritime enterprise in ancient times. China was probably known to Egypt more than two thousand years before the Christian era, and a commercial intercourse maintained between the two countries. The intrepid mariners of Carthage and Egypt had also circumnavigated Africa: and upon a further development of the early history of nations, it may possibly be found that the ancients had a much more extensive and exact acquaintance with the geo-

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graphy of the world, than we are at present aware of. And, in conjunction with that knowledge, there may have been migrations of nations, and the peopling of distant and isolated localities, by those among whom there existed a religion more advanced and enlightened than the debased and puerile belief and worship of modern heathenism. After a lapse of four thousand years, there remains a feeble glimmer of truth amid the fables and traditions of a multitude of distinct and widely-separated tribes of men. The general coincidence of these seems to indicate one common primeval source. There can be no doubt that the Tonguese religion bore, in several particulars, a striking resemblance to the ritual and economy of the Jewish ceremonial law. Indeed, this similarity prevails more or less in the various groups of Polynesia. Nor can it be denied that many of the inhabitants have strongly-marked Jewish features. But it requires further research, and more proof, before we can adopt the conclusion some have come to, that any portion of the people is of Israelitish extraction. A few of these points of resemblance may here be specified as a matter of interest.

1. There obtained among the Tonguese a regular division of time into months and years, these divisions being marked by the recurrence of sacred seasons and public feasts; which were observed with religious ceremony, and were under the sanction of the most rigorous laws. It is also remarkable that the Tonguese have some knowledge of an intercalary month, the use or disuse of which has led to many discussions among themselves.

2. The entire system of *Tabu*, by which times, persons, and places or things were made sacred,

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174 [784] and the many religious restrictions and prohibitions connected therewith, may be easily interpreted as a relic, much changed and corrupted, from the ceremonial observances of the Jews.

[796] 3. The great feast of the "*Inaji*," or offering of first-fruits to the gods every year, seems a custom or religious ceremony of purely Jewish origin.

[304] 4. The same may be said of the rite of circumcision, which was regularly practised by them. An uncircumcised person was considered mean and despicable; and the custom has only disappeared in recent years.

[783] [764] 5. Every person and thing that touched a dead body was considered unclean, and remained so until after the lapse of a certain number of days. During that allotted time, those whose duties compelled them to do the rites of burial, were not allowed to feed themselves, or to touch the food prepared by others. They were therefore carefully fed by attendants.

[846] [783] 6. Females, after child-birth, and after other periods of infirmity, were enjoined strict separation; and were subjected to ceremonial purifications.

[778] 7. The Tonguese had cities of refuge, corresponding to those instituted among the Jews; the uses and regulations of which were closely akin to theirs.

[793] 8. The priestly orders and functions resembled, in some of their features, those of the Mosaic law. The *Taula*, or priest, was supposed to become inspired by the god, as his shrine or representative, while receiving and answering the prayers and sacrifices of the worshippers. These were offered [794] through the *Feao*, or attendant upon the Taula;

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and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, or temple, in due repair and order.

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged headlong, through slavish fear and ignorance. The mysteries and enactments of heathen worship, although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the servants of the presiding genius of Bulotu, and as such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or common people, there was no certainty whatever; and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and conflicting notions of rewards and punishments. Their traditions referred to the creation of the world, and probably also to the deluge; but, even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who

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sources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although, as we shall shortly have reason to show, heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatabu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself.

The political constitution of the country was that of a monarchical despotism, supported by an hereditary aristocracy. The ranks of society, besides the priestly orders, were well defined, and fixed as unalterably as the castes of India. The grades were these:—the *Hau*, or families of the blood royal; the *Houeiki*, or chieftain orders; the *Muas*, or gentry; the *Matabules*, or official attendants and companions of the higher classes; and the *Tuas*, or common people. Certain subdivisions were also recognised under each of these orders, and professional employments were strictly hereditary; such as those of carpenters, fishermen, undertakers, doctors, &c., &c.

Rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly through the females; who sometimes, although rarely, held the reins of government in their own right. Hence the women of Tonga were never oppressed and burdened, as in many heathen lands. On the contrary, the females of these islands were kindly and considerately treated, and we might almost say they were idolized by the sterner sex.

It must, however, be observed, that the succession of rank through the mother originated, probably, in the great licence existing between the sexes. If it were difficult to designate the father of a child with certainty, no doubt could exist with re-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

gard to the mother. Thus this custom, springing though it did from one evil state of society, would naturally tend to prevent another, by placing the female part of the Tonguese population in that comparatively easy and honoured position, which they seem to have held from time immemorial.

The kingly authority extended over life, liberty, and property. It was a complete despotism, modified to some extent by certain customs, or well established regulations, which, having come down from ancient times, and being generally useful, were considered in the light of a traditionary code. It was also guarded somewhat by the influence of a certain coterie of the higher chiefs, called by way of eminence the *kau matua*, or "old men" of the land, whom the king was expected to consult on all matters of state or government. The lives of many of the rulers were stained with the usual crimes of heathenism, and were passed in the midst of wars and dissensions. The succession to regal power was regulated by certain well known laws or principles. It did not necessarily devolve upon the eldest son, or to the nearest of kin to the reigning monarch. The nomination of a successor was made by the departing ruler, when circumstances admitted of it, and was confirmed or otherwise by the decision of the *kau matua*, and then by the great body of the chiefs. Thus a brother might succeed to the government, to the total exclusion, for the time being, of the immediate children of the deceased or dethroned ruler. The selection of a king, however, was restricted wholly within the limits of the *Hau*, or blood royal line. But, even in such a case, we need not wonder that schemes and contests for regal power led to scenes of

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Eua]

Of the two former, nothing need be said here, as they were small and unimportant; but a passing notice of Eua may complete our view of the Tonga group.

Several visits to this island, at different periods, enabled us to form a good opinion of its physical character and capabilities. Having been styled the "granary of Tonga," we expected to see it in a very high state of cultivation, but we found nothing peculiar in it in this respect. At present it has but a very small number of people upon it; and these, being cut off from foreign intercourse through the want of a harbour, have no inducement to cultivate the soil beyond the necessities arising for their own support. The beauties of the island are great, and its richness of soil for agricultural purposes unquestionable, but these lie undeveloped. In former days, when the population of the country was greater, large supplies of produce may have been carried to the adjoining main island of Tongatabu, especially in seasons of famine caused by drought or hurricanes. From the effects of the one the snug and lovely valleys and ravines of Eua would be sheltered; while its flowing rivulets and streams would counteract the evil consequences of the other, at times when Tongatabu itself might be lying in temporary desolation. Hence the dependence of the Tongans upon Eua, at such times, for food; and hence, probably, the reason why it was styled, magniloquently, their "granary."

One of the pleasantest Missionary trips I ever had was to this island, in company with the Rev. George Daniel, in the year 1851. We each took our own boat and boat's crew. The wind being

origins, Polynesians came to populate the islands, and they created their own explanation of how their islands had come to be. According to Tongan legend, the great god Maui went fishing one day and pulled up the various Tonga Islands with a fishhook which he had obtained from a Samoan named Tonga Fusifonua.

No matter to which theory one gives credence, for each has its beauty, the 150 Tonga Islands today adorn the surface of the vast Pacific as sparkling specks of greenness scattered among shades of magnificent blue ocean.

But where did the Tongans come from? There has been much speculation about Polynesian migrations. Some historians and anthropologists say that the Polynesians migrated from New Zealand or America, others say that they came directly from Melanesia, and still others contend that they are from a "fatherland" in the Pacific which no longer exists. The most popular theory, however, is that the first Polynesians migrated from southeastern Asia or the area of Indonesia around the 4th or 5th century B.C., landed at certain centers of settlement (such as Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga), and dispersed periodically from there.

Imagine what courageous people the early Polynesians must have been to have embarked upon the seas in their long colonizing journeys and traveled without navigating instruments to distant islands thousands of miles away. With tremendous faith in the gods, they essentially pitted their vessels against the unpredictable elements of nature. By means of a highly sophisticated knowledge of astronomy, they navigated during the day by the sun, wind and swell of the ocean, and at night by the stars—many of which they named and could locate in the sky at any different time of the year; otherwise, when the heavenly bodies were obscured, the mariners directed their courses according to the wind and ocean currents. Indeed, they rightly merit the reputation which they have gained as being outstanding, intrepid voyagers and navigators.

Their main sea-going vessels for the lengthy ocean voyages were double canoes of considerable size and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

501 splendid design. Among the most daring Polynesian
[174] seamen were the Tongans, whose huge double canoes were called *kalia*.[A] Each of these double-hulled sailing vessels, stabilized by broad cross beams, supported a house-type shelter on its deck and was capable of carrying up to 200 people plus provisions. The *tongiaki,* another type of Tongan double canoe of smaller size, was used for local journeys.

[396] In the construction of the double canoes, the lack of nails was more than compensated for by the lashing with coconut fiber sennit, which was done with extraordinary precision and skill; in addition,

[P.5-A]

A [See category 501, pp. vi and 2--Analyst]

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

101 **TONGANS.**—1. **Introduction.**—Tonga—or at least the Tonga of this article—is the name of a group of islands in the Western Pacific, lying to the north of New Zealand, the east of New Caledonia, and the south of Fiji and Samoa. It is sometimes known as the Friendly Isles, the name given it by Captain Cook. The Tongans who inhabit this group are a tiny nation of the Polynesian race. Although few in number—about 20,000 only—their nationality is clearly marked, and they can easily be distinguished from their neighbours the Fijians and Samoans. Typical Tongans are tall, large-limbed, of a light coffee colour, with upright forehead and straight hair; but a little acquaintance with them shows that there has been an admixture with a race that was short and had receding foreheads. This agrees with their traditions, which state that, when the Tongans came to the group, some five or six centuries ago, it was already occupied by an aboriginal race. Traces of these have been found in one of the volcanic islands, but the vestiges have not been scientifically examined. Still it is clear that the Tongans, and Polynesians generally, have emigrated from a distance; and the most probable theory is that of Fornander, that they came from the head of the Persian Gulf.

Old navigators used to speak of the Tongans as 'the most splendid savages in existence,' and they were certainly the terror of the neighbouring groups, all of which are said to have been once conquered by them. They acknowledge themselves to be mentally inferior to the European; but it cannot be said that they come very far behind; and occasionally students at Tubou College have achieved results that could be equalled only by the best pupils in English schools. A fair measure of the size of their brains may surely be found in their language, which contains, it is estimated, at least 10,000 words in use. The verbs have about 20 voices, and the pronouns are developed to such an amazing extent that there are more than 100 ways of saying 'our,' against two in English, 'our' and 'our own.' As the adjectives, too, have many degrees of comparison, and there are more than two articles, shades of meaning can be produced to an almost infinite extent. That the Bible translates well into a language like this is not surprising; but geometrical treatises, and such works as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, can also be well rendered.

Physically, then, and mentally, the Tongans stand high; and it comes as a surprise that their

133 Tonga being a country made up of islands (150 at
182 present), the sea has always been a factor around which
181 life revolved. Tongans are reputedly among the most adventuresome, adept seafarers. According to popular
174 belief, Tonga and Samoa may well have been the center of dispersal for other island groups. That is, the first Polynesians who migrated, say, from southeastern Asia and Indonesia, made the area of Tonga and Samoa the cradle of Polynesian civilization.

181 Thus, the innumerable references to the sea which
823 are made in this book, are reflective of the feeling of respect for and communion with the sea which the Tongans have always felt, as well as of the spirit of adventure and seafaring which have long been a vital part of the Tongan way of life.

Donna Gerstle

[p. 10-B]

[p. 11 is blank]

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

A Study of Tongan Panpipes with a Speculative Interpretation

*by Adrienne L. Kaeppler**

Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu

In the pages of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1941, Te Rangi Hiroa described a number of Polynesian panpipes, including two Tongan specimens from the voyages of Captain Cook, and attempted in his final paragraph to use panpipes as evidence to support his view on the migration of the Polynesians through Micronesia. In the intervening years, new studies of Tongan material culture, Captain Cook, and Polynesian migrations have made additional information available and it seems appropriate to place this information on record. These remarks will be divided into three parts. First, it will be shown that panpipes can support an alternative migration route to that proposed by Hiroa. Second, the Cook voyage attribution of panpipes will be discussed. Third, the musical and aesthetic properties of Tongan panpipes and their relation to social organization will be explored.

Recent archaeological and linguistic research indicates that "proto-Oceanic people" reached Tonga by 1500 B.C., having traveled through the Melanesian area probably before much of it was inhabited by peoples we now call Melanesians (see Green 1966, 1967, 1968; Golson 1971; Groube 1972). These studies, of course, have not attempted to determine or even suggest what kind of musical instruments these people used. However, the most widespread musical instrument in Polynesia at the time of European contact was the bamboo nose flute, which was found in nearly all of the island groups except New Zealand -- where bamboo was not available and a different group of wind instruments evolved. From this widespread distribution one would assume that the

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

commodity, and amongst the small articles files or rather rasps were held in high estimation. They are undoubtedly of the same origin with the inhabitants of New Zeeland and the isles eastward, for though in some respects they differ in many others they also agree. Their first population happend no doubt in the same manner with the other islands of this vast ocean, and indeed from the great number of these already discover'd we can hardly be at a loss to form a judgment of this manner especially if it be allowd, which is not improbable, that they are much more numerous and at less distances from each other than is generally imagind. Necessity if not choice would soon force the surplus of people which must follow the population of a small isle to emigrate; and I believe a very short time would bring them to some other isle as yet uninhabited. Accident too as well as design has no doubt often had a share in peopling the different parts of the world, & this may be the case in all the places discoverd or visited in this voyage, though it might at first appear the people must be naturally the same. This is far from being the case, but we must attribute it to the different stock from which they sprung before their arrival in the south sea, or we must believe that at the creation every particular island was furnishd with its inhabitants in the same manner as with its peculiar plants and animals.

SATURDAY 12. The wind E. Fresh breezes with fine Weather. After weathering the NE part of Tonga last night the wind being rather favourable we stretch'd over for E'ooa and fetch'd it about two in the morning, but kept turning till day light and at seven anchor'd in the same place where Captn Cook had been in 1773, which he calld English road, in fathom water, one extreme of the land bearing the other , one end of Tonga , and the other . The Discovery did not anchor till some time after, when she brought to a little to the Soward and within us. Few Canoes came off but in one was the Chief nam'd Ta'oofa.[1] The Captn went on shore before and after dinner and found some water which was but very indifferent. They also traded for some Yams and above a dozen of hogs.

As we lay at anchor this island bore a very different aspect from any we had seen and forms a most beutifull landscape. It is higher than any we pass'd since leaving New Zeeland (as Kaò may justly be reckond an immense rock) not excepting Mang'ŷà and Wateeoo, & from its top which is almost flat declines very gently towards the sea. As the other isles of this cluster are flat the eye can distinguish

[1] Ta'aufa'a or 'Tioonee'.

535 The poetry of the ula is not very important for movement, except
538 for the length of the phrase. Although words are always associated, it
533 is not imperative to the dancer that they be sung. As a case in point, when practicing ula, if we were tired of singing we would stop singing and carry on with only the beating. During a practice of fa'ahiula we couldn't stop singing because our movements had to follow the words, even though we didn't understand what we were saying. The structure of an ula is a single stanza consisting of two phrases, repeated over and over. Thus, the text phrase structure is $t^1\ t^2\ t^1\ t^2\ t^1\ t^2\ t^1$, etc., while the stanza structure is simply A A A A A etc. Sometimes the first phrase of the stanza is sung by the chorus of singers, and the
535 second phrase of the stanza is sung by the dancers or vice versa. The
539 only example of an ula that is translatable is:

Fai mai se langi ula	(t^1)	Do for me the words of ula
Fai mai se tau'olunga	(t^2)	Do for me the dance.

535 This is no doubt a recent example, first because it is translatable
539 and second because the word tau'olunga is used. Tau'olunga is a
174 recent dance type said to have come from Samoa in recent years, which
192 is probably historically valid because old Tongan dictionaries do not
[177] list the word and tau'olunga is a contemporary Samoan dance type.

535 Even though the above example of ula poetry is recent we can postulate
538 that the untranslatable ula also referred to the dance itself, its performers, and its spectators. There are frequent references in texts to Sina, Vaea, Maleipo, who were mythological and historical figures known for their beauty and handsomeness, and references to

175 [477 cont.]
181 to satisfy the most indispensible wants of nature, could make
642 them miserable. Be this as it may, so much seems to be certain,
651 that their systems of politics and religion, from their similarity
175 with the Taheitian, as far as we could judge, must have had one
171 common origin, perhaps in the mother country, from whence both
174 these colonies issued. Single dissonant customs, and opinions
may have acceded to the primitive ideas, in proportion as various
175 accidents, or human caprices have given rise to them. The
174 affinity of their languages is still more decisive. The greatest
197 part of the necessaries of life, common to both groups of islands,
the parts of the body, in short the most obvious and universal
ideas, were expressed at the Society and Friendly Isles nearly
175 by the same words. [478] We did not find that sonorousness in the
197 Tonga-Tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee,
194 because the inhabitants of the former have adopted the F,K, and S,
so that their language is more replete with consonants. This
harshness is compensated however by the frequent use of the liquid
letters, L,M,N; and of the softer vowels E and I, to which we
must add that kind of singing tone, which they generally retain
even in common conversation.---But it is time to return from this
digression.

175 We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to
123 return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well
122 provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the
175 small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty
hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising
[312] acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

128 For this dissertation examples are drawn from sources pertaining
101 to the Polynesian archipelago of Tonga. Tonga derived its name from
103 the principal island of the group, Tongatapu or sacred Tonga. The
"tapu" was probably appended to the "Tonga" because this island became
101 the residence of the leaders of the archipelago. Tongatapu island was
the focal point for the political and religious system in the archi-
174 pelago prior to and after European contact. The Polynesians who ori-
133 ginally settled all of the Tongan archipelago appear to have chosen
this relatively flat island, no higher than 200 feet above sea level
along points on the southern or cliff-bound liku coast, because of
133 terrain and climate. The middle, or Ha'apai, group of islands, tradi-
tionally set off from Tongatapu by the volcanically formed islands of
Hunga Ha'apai and Hunga Tonga, are a series of low islets. The northern-
most island group of Vava'u has relatively high hills, with most of the
132 land being at least 100 feet above sea level. Vava'u was, and is,
182 subject to more destructive hurricanes than Tongatapu during the hurri-
cane season and it was only on Tongatapu that relative permanency of
material culture and continuity of leadership could be maintained for
generations.

131 The territorial boundaries of the Kingdon of Tonga were pro-
claimed by King George Tupou I to be 15°S and 23°S and 173°W and 177°W
(Tonga Government Gazette, Vol. 2, No. 55, August 24, 1887). The
islands of the Kingdom thus fall within a rectangle of the South Pacific
some 596 miles North-South by 264 miles East-West, with the outer
islands of the Kingdom being Niua Fo'ou Island to the North at 15°34'S

Martin's report on life in Tonga indicates that around the year 1800 few plants were used in treating illnesses (17). There is no reason to doubt his observations. However, the possibility that plants were generally used in medicines before 1800 must not be eliminated on the basis of this single report. Evidence from other regions of the Pacific and from ethnographic studies of primitive cultures in general suggests that plants were used in medicines to some extent by most peoples. By attempting to evaluate the relative date of introduction to Tonga of the species enumerated in Section V, perhaps some conclusion as to the origin of plant remedies in Tonga can be determined. For this purpose, I have divided the 71 enumerated medicinal plants into three categories: endemic, indigenous, and of recent introduction. For the purposes of this discussion, "endemic plants" refers to species found only in the archipelago; "indigenous plants" are those found generally throughout Polynesia and of pre-European introduction; and "recently introduced species" are those from tropical America, Africa, Asia, or India that were introduced after Europeans first arrived in Tonga. Table V lists those species which are indigenous to Tonga and which are used in medicines. Table VI lists those which are used in medicines and which are considered of recent, or post-European, introduction.

Of the species listed above, one is endemic, 49 are considered indigenous or of pre-European introduction to Tonga, and only 21 are of post-European introduction. Therefore of the total of 71 species enumerated, 68% are indigenous to Tonga and 30% are recently introduced. As the majority of enumerated medicinal plants are native or of pre-European introduction to Tonga and the use of plants in Tonga is assumed to have flourished after 1800, it is possible to conclude that the Tongan may have learned the many plant remedies enumerated herein from other Pacific islanders and/or from Europeans who learned of certain plant remedies in their travels and entered the archipelago after visiting these other island groups. It is also possible to conclude that Martin's (17) observations were, in fact, incorrect and that medicinal plants were used by Tongans before 1800. Perhaps the Ton-

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

1 *Traditional Polity in Tonga*

Near the centre of the 70,000,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean lies the smallest kingdom in the world, Tonga. Situated 1,100 miles north-east of New Zealand and 420 miles south-east of Fiji, it consists of more than 150 small islands which are scattered between 15° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 177° west longitude. The kingdom is divided into three main island groups, Tongatapu to the south, Ha'apai in the centre, and Vava'u to the north. The total area of the whole group is 269 square miles, though only thirty-six of the islands are inhabited by the population which numbered about 90,000 in 1972, 97.5 per cent of whom are native and belong to the Polynesian race. Using oral traditions, particularly genealogies, ethnohistorians have concluded that the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Tonga arrived at the group from Samoa in A.D.950 (Gifford 1929:50; Wood 1932:6). However, recent archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that Tonga has been occupied for a much longer period and was settled probably from the north-west rather than from Samoa (see Green 1966:6-38; Groube 1971:278-316).

Long before the coming of the Wesleyan missionaries to Tonga there was a highly organised socio-political system somewhat similar to that found in other Polynesian societies, based on the rule of the chiefs. However, Tonga was unique in Polynesia, and in the Pacific as a whole, in that it had a traditional monarchical system under the headship of the Tu'i Tonga. In fact, the institution of Tu'i Tonga had developed through the years into something similar to the Dalai Lama of Tibet and the Mikado of Japan.

Originally, the whole of Tonga was under the sovereignty of the Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, who began his rule in Tonga in about A.D.950, was believed to be the son of Tangaloa, the god of the sky, and an earthly mother (Gifford 1924:25, 38; Wood 1932:5) thereby encompassing in his person

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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laua. Later, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, desiring to become like the Tu'i Tonga himself and be free of the responsibilities of the *hau*, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and appointed one of his sons, Ngata, to this position in order that the latter would take over the responsibilities of the *hau*. The establishment of this third dynasty took place about the beginning of the seventeenth century (Gifford 1929:86). The responsibilities of administering the affairs of the country were thus gradually transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line.

Apart from his divine sanctity, the Tu'i Tonga's position was enhanced by a marriage arrangement between the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau* dynasties. The eldest daughter of the *hau* was usually given as a *moheofo* (principal wife) to the Tu'i Tonga. As a result the next Tu'i Tonga, who was the son of the *moheofo*, would be in a relationship of *fahu*[2] (unlimited authority) to the *hau* who would be his maternal uncle. For this reason, when the system was at its peak, the *hau* dynasty (first the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu) felt privileged and honoured to support and maintain the position of the Tu'i Tonga.

The Tongan system of land tenure rested upon the assumption that, owing to his divine origin, all land in Tonga from the beginning belonged to the Tu'i Tonga, and that the rights possessed by other chiefs therefore derived from him. In recognition of this, and also of the fact that he was regarded as the repre-

[2] The term *fahu* was derived from the Fijian word *vasu* which is the commoner term for sister's son or daughter. In certain areas of Fiji, the sister's male children are *vasu* and this gives them the right to inherit all the portable property of their mother's brother. Capell and Lester (1946:241-2) suggest that the *vasu* right in its simpler form came into western Polynesia from Fiji, and that the more extended form of *vasu* right also developed in Fiji and 'from eastern Fiji the right will have passed direct to Tonga, and it did so because the existing Tongan social system provided it with a ready welcome'. Their contention is supported by Tongan traditions which say the *fahu* began with the marriage of the Fijian chief, Tapu'osi, with the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Tu'i Tonga's sister). Their children became *fahu* over the Tu'i Tonga, and theoretically over the whole of Tonga (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote). In actual practice, the privileges of the *fahu* among commoners were severely restricted by the more powerful rights of the chiefs over commoners' property. Hence the custom was only strictly enforced by the chiefly classes (Gifford 1929:22-6; Collocott 1923b:223).

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE VOLCANIC ISLANDS
(INCLUDING FALCON ISLAND AND NIUA FO'OU).

175 (1) 'ATA. Tasman sighted this island in 1643 as he sailed from
103 New Zealand, and he gave it the name of Pylstaart. It is 85 miles S.S.W.
133 of Togatabu. There are two peaks, the higher being 1,165 feet, but the
135 volcano is extinct. 'Ata contains deposits of guano, suitable for manure,
but the lack of a harbour renders these useless commercially. The island
was formerly inhabited. One account stated that people drifted there
174 from Tofua, Tugua and also from Houma in Togatabu, and relationship
with people in those places has been claimed by descendants of the 'Ata
166 people. Another explanation is that 'Ata was settled by refugees from
Atata who fled from the invasion of a cannibal chief, 'Uhila, of Nomuka,
and that these intended to flee to Togatabu but were blown south in a
storm. Still another account relates that refugees from Atata fled in
this way but it was because of the invasion of their island by Finau Ulu-
kalala II in 1799. Shortly after 1860, Tubou I ordered the 200 inhabitants
166 of 'Ata to remove to the village of Ha'atu'a or Kolomaile in 'Eua, on
[648] account of islanders being taken away by kidnapping ships to work in
the mines of Chile, South America. 'Ata was too isolated to be protected
then, and on account of its position and lack of an anchorage it has not
again attracted a population.

133 (2) HUGA TOGA is 490 feet high. (3) HUGA HA'ABAI is
400 feet high. These sister-islands, north-west of Togatabu, contain
[135] deposits of guano but have no anchorage. Volcanic activity has long
ceased.

102
133
131

FALCON ISLAND.

LAT. 20° 19′ S. LONG. 175° 28′ W.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

and mobs of untended horses roam through the island. It contains varied scenery, valleys, and precipitous cliffs lining the eastern coast.

TOGATABU. This name (Sacred Tonga), as well as the others used by the people (Great Tonga and Chiefly Tonga), attests the importance of the largest island in the minds of generations of Tongans. From the foundation of Tonga to the present it has been the residence of the kings and the centre of religious and social life, and modern investigation has confirmed the native tradition that Togatabu was settled before Ha'abai and Vava'u. The island is 99 square miles in extent, with its extreme length 18½ miles and greatest breadth 9 miles. The southern coast is rather higher than the northern, where the capital, Nuku'alofa, is situated opposite the only openings in the reef which surrounds the island; but Togatabu generally is low, except in the east where the land rises to 270 feet. There are three main roads traversing the island from west to east and several cross-roads. The present population is 12,357, of whom 11,660 are pure Tongans.

Nuku'alofa is the capital, the residence of the sovereign, and the centre of government and trade for the whole group. The Palace and Royal Chapel are conspicuous buildings; and the royal dais in the chapel is finely carved. The tombs of the present line of kings are at Mala'e-kula, in the centre of the town. Behind the British Consulate is a hill (Zion), the site of the old fort described by Mariner.

Mu'a, which consists of two villages, Tatakamotoga and Labaha, was the ancient capital; the kings of the Tu'i Toga line after Tu'itatui resided at Labaha, as also did the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the southern village of Tatakamotoga belonged to the Tu'i Kanokubolu. In Mu'a there was also a renowned enclosure, Fanakava, which was a sanctuary for refugees from justice. The most remarkable feature of the Mu'a district is the series of 28 tombs (lagi) of the ancient kings. Each of these is a rectangular structure, covering as much as three-fourths of an acre, with from three to five terraces in pyramidal form, built of blocks of stone the largest of which weigh 30 tons each. Many of these tombs are well-preserved and easily accessible, especially the Baebae of Tele'a, whose smooth surfaces and L-shaped corner-stones have won the admiration of experts. Such striking examples of the skill of ancient Tongan stone-masons afford one of the finest sights in the South Seas.

At the extreme east of the island, at Heketa near Niutoua, there is situated the famous trilithon known as the Ha'amoga-'a-Maui. This was built by the Tu'i Toga, Tu'itatui, about the year 1200, probably as a gateway. The upright stones are 17 feet high, and the cross-piece is 19 feet in length. Nearby are the stone where Tu'itatui sat, the Maka Fakinaga, and two tombs from the same period.

The remains of "Captain Cook's tree," called Malumalu 'o Fulilagi by the people, may be seen at Alaki. It was here that Cook was entertained in 1777 when he visited the Tu'i Toga and saw the presentation of first-fruits.

Stalactite caves near Haveluliku on the southern coast, like those found in other parts of Tonga, seem to have been used for burials in ancient times.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840.

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the island is known as the Keli-'a-Belehake, which extends from Vaotu'u to Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa; tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance of human cremation and cannibalism.

At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanokubolu were invested with office; a piece of the koka tree under which these kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes.

Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance.

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby.

Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, an island north of Nuku'alofa. The quarantine station is situated at Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa.

Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu, small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were cut at these places, and certainly not at Uvea and other distant islands to which old native traditions refer.

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came. Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the difficulties of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen.

The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, Lifuka.

Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon-mounds used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of unknown use extending through the island.

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL SETTING AND POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Historical Background

172 Based on archeological evidence, proto-Tongan culture has been operative on the Tongatapu environment for over 3000 years. The earliest inhabitants, however, were probably not cultivators. Kitchen middens and potsherds indicate that the earliest settlements were along the shores of the central lagoon and that inhabitants depended almost entirely upon reef food (Groube, 1971:295-313). There is no evidence in early Tongan or Samoan excavations that vegetables foods were even utilized in the diet (Suggs, 174 1960:91). At a later date, possibly in the latter half of the first millenium B.C., a shift from reef exploitation to agriculture may have coincided with the introduction of some of the major Western Pacific cultigens, as well as the pig (Groube, 1971: 311-313).

174 From the time of this supposed shift from a restricted 175 maritime lagoonal economy to a horticultural economy until 361 well after the first European contact by Abel Tasman in 1643, the settlement pattern was probably one of dispers- 175 ed houses and gardens throughout Tongatapu. Tasman was very 311 favourably impressed with the industry of the Tongans. The 361 land was cultivated everywhere, and there were no villages.

175 361 311 Each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences (Wood, 1945:81-19). After Tasman's visit, a period of 130 years elapsed before further European contact was made by Cook on his second voyage in 1773. Cook also recorded that Tongatapu was extensively cultivated with "the houses being surrounded by perfumed flowers and set in the middle of food-gardens, the planting being systematic and in rows . . . . . Good roads, arched over with trees, went in all directions. There were no villages." (Wood, 1945:18-19). 175 361 The existence of dispersed and peaceful settlements is attested to by Tongan tradition which "speaks 173 of a time when it was possible to communicate from one end 203 of Tongatapu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a state of affairs described as fanogonongo tokoto (making a proclamation while reclining)" (Gifford, 1929:4-5).

● 174 642 643 During this period of dispersed settlement, a strong line of high chiefs established their authority over Tongatapu, as well as the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups. This period of strong central authority began with the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, around 950 A.D. (based on geneological evidence). 175 The line of high chiefs, starting with 'Aho'eitu 721 and including three major lines of royalty (the Tui'i Tonga, 181 Tu' Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines), provided for a peaceful environment until the very end of the eighteenth [643] century (Wood, 1945:5-18). According to Tasman, in 1643, "we saw with these people no weapons, so that all was peace

175 and friendship" (Sharp, 1968:56). When Cook arrived in
721 Tongatapu, although some weapons were observed, "the people
181 went about unarmed and seemed very peaceful"(Wood,1945:19).

174 Tongans maintained a tradition, probably dating from
648 the time of first settlement, of voyaging to Fiji and Samoa and possibly to the Tokelaus, Rotuma,and the Ellice Islands. The Tongans were reputedly the main voyagers in the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa area and maintained especially close ties with
174 the warlike Fijians to the east (Sharp, 1964:27-29). At
439 first these ties involved the bartering of Tongan goods, such as whale's teeth, the tail of the sting ray (used for pointing spears), tapa cloth, sail mats, and inlaid clubs for Fijian goods,such as hardwood for building canoes,bowls, pottery, red parakeet feathers(which were exchanged in Samoa where they were used in decorating fine mats), and sandalwood (Thompson, 1940:29; Derrick, 1946:30 and Latukefu,1967:
175 59-60). In the latter half of the nineteenth century, A how-
648 ever, Tongans began taking part in Fijian wars, helping cer-
721 tain chiefs who rewarded them with the superior Fijian canoes
175 and weapons. These latter visits had "most evil effects on
721 Tonga" and probably played a great part in bringing to a
669 close the long period of peace and provided the impetus for the brief period of civil disorder or "Dark Ages" that was to follow (Wood, 1945:25).

Although an atmosphere of peace lasted through Cook's last visit in 1777 and d'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere's

A[Author undoubtedly means the eighteenth century--Analyst.]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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TONGA

Chapter I.

TONGA IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES

The Tongan people have preserved a rudimentary knowledge of their early history. This was transmitted to successive generations through poems, expressed in singing and festival dancing. With pride of race and tenacious memories the Tongans were able to recall the deeds of kings and other great chiefs that were celebrated in these poems. 173

The first of the line of sacred kings, the Tu'i Tonga, ruled about 950 A.D., and the names of all the kings in this line, thirty-eight in number, were orally recorded. For almost a thousand years Tongans served their chiefs, cultivated their soil, skilfully sailed the surrounding seas, and enjoyed the possession of their small islands undisturbed by contact with the outside world.

Tonga is the southern point of the triangle, Fiji-Samoa-Tonga. With a total area of only 269 square miles, this island-cluster seems to have had a stable population of from 18,000 to 25,000 in pre-European times. The three main sections are Tongatapu (with the capital, Nuku'alofa) in the south, Ha'apai (a scattered group of which the main island is Lifuka), and Vava'u (with its chief town, Neiafu) in the north. Tongatapu, or Sacred Tonga, was so called because it was regarded as the residence of the great gods.(1) The distance from Tongatapu to Vava'u is 170 miles. The islands run in two lines. The eastern line is of coral formation, nearly all being low islands. The largest island in the whole group, Tongatapu, 99 square miles, rises to only 270 feet. The western line consists of volcanic islands, mostly extinct and with few inhabitants now, except the far northerly islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. 131 [161] [103] 133

Tongans are a branch of the light-brown Polynesian race; affinities of language and similar physical characteristics show their close relationship with Samoans, Maoris, Hawaiians, and the inhabitants of the many groups in Eastern Polynesia. "The greatest ocean pathfinders the world has known"(2), the Polynesians are believed to have come from Asia, "pushed off the mainland of Asia".(3) Approximate dates and the paths of these migrations are still the subject of inquiry and much debate (4). 144 174

Tongan traditions firmly place Samoa as the land from which their ancestors finally migrated to their present home. These stories refer to the islands of Manu'a in the east of the Samoan group as the residence of the ancient chiefs who claimed descent from the sky-gods, the Tangaloa. Furthermore, it was from Manu'a that Maui, the mythical hero from the under-world, was said to have obtained the fish-hook with which he pulled up Tongatapu and other low islands in the Tongan group from the ocean-bed. The first Tu'i Tonga, 'Ahoeitu, was 173

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, John, *History of the Friendly Islands*, p.1, A.1961. MLS.
(2) Luke, Sir Harry, *Islands of the South Pacific*.
(3) Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, p.3.
(4) W. W. Howells, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, believes that the first Polynesians came to Tonga through Micronesia about 2000 B.C. Carbon-testing by Jans Poulsen, of Denmark and the Australian National University, Canberra, indicated 500 B.C. as the date for middens he found in Tongatapu in 1965. See also Gifford, E. W., *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, pp.8 &c., for stories common to Tonga, Indonesia and Micronesia; Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p.350, for comparison of ancient Tongan and Japanese social institutions: Collocott, E. E. V., *An Experiment in Tongan History*, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3; Hadden, A. B. and Hornell, J., *Canoes of Oceania*, Bishop Museum, pp.339-44, regarding migration of the Polynesians through Indonesia and Micronesia; Sullivan, L. M., *A Contribution to Tongan Somatology*, Bishop Museum, Vol. VIII. No. 4, pp.255-7; Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise*; and Heyerdahl, Thor, *Sea Routes to Polynesia*, for another theory of migration.
(5) Gifford, ibid; Collocott, ibid: *"Folk-Lore,"*. Translations of the Folk-Lore Society, Vol. 35, No. 3, 30 September 1924, pp.279 &c.
(6) Although a tradition states that the stones were brought in a great canoe, Lomipeau, from Uvea, which is actually a volcanic island, the stones were probably obtained from the coral reefs of Tongatapu itself. The transport of the huge stones on rollers and the erection of these monuments, using only stone axes, must have been very laborious. McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*, Bishop Museum, gives details of the tombs and the trilithon; and Collocott also. The present king, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, has shown that the markings on the cross-piece of the trilithon point in the direction of the sun at the summer and winter solstices and evidently denoted the times for yam-planting and for giving first-fruits as a sacred duty to the Tu'i Tonga.
(7) For further particulars on Tongan society, see Gifford, Collocott, and Latukefu, S., *Church and State in Tonga*.
(8) An example of this is the survival of a shipwrecked Tongan crew for 103 days in 1962 on Minerva Reef. Ruhen, Olaf, *Minerva Reef*.
(9) Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands*, p.33, A.1961. M.L.S.
(10) For further particulars of Tongan religion, see Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 12, art. "Tongans". Dr. J. E. Moulton; Mariner, W., *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, &c., Vol. 2, pp.132 &c.; Gifford, *Tongan Society*, pp.287-347; Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands*, A.1961, M.L.S.; West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.255 &c.; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, pp.125 &c.
(11) Cook, J., *Voyages of Discovery*, Everyman Edition, p.290.
(12) Zimmermann, H., *Account of Third Voyage of Captain Cook*, p.17.
(13) Cook, ibid, pp.287-8.
(14) Cook, ibid, p.265.
(15) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 27 July 1841. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(16) Langdon, Robert, *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 1, 1966, p.186.
(17) Edwards & Hamilton, *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, 1790-1*, p.135.
(18) Edwards & Hamilton, ibid, p.134.
(19) Edwards & Hamilton, ibid, p.132.

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan economy.

To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971-72 us$1,250,000 and for 1972-73 us$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (us$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of us$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact, benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some domestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their 1970-75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

The Economic Role of Tourism

Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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social and ceremonial status because of her *kāinga* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. But the Tamaha did not have highest rank and little effective power, this being necessary in order to avoid power play at this high level. This delicate matter was handled in a very sophisticated manner. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was of such high rank that no Tongan was high enough to marry her, so she was married to a foreigner—a Fijian. Thus her children, because of the patrilineal emphasis of the society, belonged to a foreign line—the Fale Fisi. Rulers did not come from foreign lines so there could be no problem in mixing succession to title with *kāinga* rank.

'Latoo' (Latunipulu), at the time of Cook, was a son of the Tu'i Tonga's sister and thus higher in *kāinga* status. Latunipulu's title was Tu'i Lakepa, which is the senior line of the Fale Fisi. He in turn was outranked by his sister, the Tamaha Moungalakepa, whom Cook also met. When the Tamaha is not present, however, one of her siblings can take her place, thus the Latoo in these early accounts was an exalted personage indeed—but not the king.

In order to appreciate the significance of Cook's Journals in these matters, one must also understand a third dimension of Tongan rank—i.e., the ranking of chiefly titles, which originated by collateral segmentation from the Tu'i Tonga line. The Tu'i Tonga, having power of life and death over their subjects, often found themselves very unpopular and several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated. In about the fifteenth century the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga appointed his younger brother as a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, who was given temporal power, while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status. The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. Eventually the second line lost in status as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu grew. All these lines descended ultimately from 'Aho'eitu and were further linked by marriage.

Mariwaggy (Maealiuaki) mentioned in Cook's third voyage accounts was the fourteenth Tu'i Takalaua and later the eighth Tu'i Kanokupolu—the titular head of Ha'a Ngata. Otago (Siale'ataongo) belonged to the Ha'a Ngata line. Feenaugh (Finau Ulukalala Feletoa) of Vava'u, was of even lower rank—being a member of Ha'a Ngata Tupu, which descended from the fifth Tu'i Kanokupolu. Finau was a great warrior and gave a lavish entertainment for Cook at which there was so much food that Cook remarked it 'exceeded any present I had ever before received from an Indian Prince' (Beaglehole 1967: 108). Finau's line, though he tried to make Cook believe he was king of all the Friendly Isles (1967: 100), was of a line far inferior in rank to the Tu'i Tonga. When Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, finally appears on Cook's stage, Finau put Paulaho's foot to his head and retired from the cabin, not being able to eat or drink in the Tu'i Tonga's presence. This was because Finau traced his ancestry, according to the societal segmentation, back to the Tu'i Tonga and was thereby related to him.

But Finau was not so related to Latunipulu and we are fortunate to have Cook's description of the interaction between them. They simply ignored each other. Cook tells us that Latunipulu was in a canoe under the stern of the *Resolution* and Finau 'was on board at the same time but neither took any notice of the other' (Beaglehole 1967: 111). Here we see that the Tamaha has no general power over

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA: SOME NEW VIEWS*

[Pre-1616]

Introduction.

In this paper we wish to supply a survey of the history of the Tonga Islands. We shall concentrate mainly on the period 1770-1820. Of the times previous to this period there is but little known, whereas the period after 1820 is described extensively in various writings (Farmer, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford). Therefore these parts of Tongan history will be dealt with very briefly. The time between the two dates mentioned above, however, is a confused period, in which a whole series of authorities were involved in a great number of political complications. To our mind the existing studies on this period contain various vague and contradictory notions. We believe that some of these are dealt with conclusively in this paper.

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1. *The period previous to the coming of the Europeans (up to 1616).*

A great part of the history of the Tonga Islands is wrapped in mystery. Oral traditions, lists of names and a few monuments are the chief data one has to work on. For a few years now archaeologists have supplied us with a basis a little more reliable for this research into the past. Thus, according to Suggs (p. 87 ff.), we can take it that a short time before the beginning of our era these islands were inhabited. The same goes for the nearby Samoa Islands, and Suggs points out the fact that the development of these areas runs parallel to a great extent. We are to picture these earliest inhabitants as people living together in small groups, cultivating land in a simple way for horticultural purposes and using some earthenware (ib. p. 93). Not before the eleventh century, however, are there structures of some size to be found on Tongatapu. They consist chiefly of tombs. These have been explored and described extensively by Mc Kern. His opinion

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* The translation was made by Mr. F. L. van den Berg.

[p. 505]

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

[ca. 900 - 1470]

172 is that only a large, well-organized community could have put up these
174 structures (Mc Kern, p. 67 ff., 120 ff.). To his mind these structures
are well beyond the powers of a village chief, who can count on the
172 help of only a few well-disposed villagers. Only rulers highly elevated
174 above the common folk have the power to have this done. If the time-
643 scheme of Gifford (p. 49 ff.) is correct, these rulers must have borne
the title of *Tui Tonga* (i.e., Lord of Tonga). Working back from the
174 year 1865 in which the last *Tui Tonga* died, and assuming an average
643 reign of 25 years, this dynasty, of which the list of generations mentions
39 successive rulers,[1] may have come to power in the 10th century.[2]

[173] The first *Tui Tonga*, the legendary founder of the dynasty, Ahoeitu,
is supposed to have had a divine father, who seduced a woman on earth
(Collocott 1924, p. 169; Gifford, p. 52; Buck, p. 300). The building
[349] of the famous trilithon Haamonga a Maui, a sort of gate built of
three enormous blocks of stone, is ascribed to one of his descendants,
the 11th *Tui Tonga* Tuitatui. Collocott (1924, p. 171) dates this king
about 1200. Thomson (1902, p. 83) dates him in the 14th century.

According to traditional history Samoa was turned into a kind of
173 colony during the reign of the 15th *Tui Tonga* (Ella, p. 231; Collocott
174 1924, p. 175; Williamson I, p. 143; Gifford, p. 54). A comparison
648 with Samoan traditions confirms this (Schultz-Ewerth, p. 66; Buck,
p. 302; Suggs, p. 99). This subjection was only temporary, but after
the loss of this colony the relations with Samoa still continue.

Under the 25th *Tui Tonga* Kauulufonuafekai, who must have ruled
174 about 1470, a change in government was effected which would have
643 important consequences for the future. For he appointed his brother
178 hereditary head of the government and war leader, and reserved the
sacral part of his office for himself "... which gave him the best that
the land provided in produce and beautiful women" (Gifford, p. 56).[3]
His brother, the head of the Haa Takalaua (the Takalaua family),
bore the title of *Hau* as a temporal prince, but customarily this ruler

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[114] [1] We find this list in Gifford, p. 50. Although largely agreeing, the genealogies as we find them in Thomson 1894, p. 304 ff. and Collocott 1924, p. 166 ff. differ in detail.

[114] [2] Estimating the average number of years for one generation is a speculative business. Suggs, p. 53, shows how a term of 25 years in certain cases can lead to utterly incorrect results. In Collocott's article (1924, p. 182 ff.) 21 *Tui Kanokupolu* are mentioned, who reigned altogether from 1650 to 1965 (death of queen Salote). The average period of government would then be about 15 years. See on this also Mc Kern, p. 100 ff. and Williamson I, p. 13.

[3] Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55; Collocott 1924, p. 176 ff.; Williamson I, p. 143 ff.; Gifford, p. 55 ff.; Koch, p. 107.

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

[ca. 1470 – 1643]

is referred to as the *Tui Haa Takalaua*. According to tradition the reason for this change in the system of government was the violent deaths of several *Tui Tonga*. In this way the ruler hoped from now on to keep out of harm's way (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Collocott 1924, p. 177; Gifford, p. 48). This was indeed the case, but in the long run the *Tui Tonga* himself was to lose much of his power and influence.

In the 17th century we find another alteration in the government of the country. The *Tui Haa Takalaua* then reigning, called Mounga-tonga, appointed his son his deputy. In fact the latter now became the *Hau*. Usually he is referred to as *Tui Kanokupolu* — a title which really refers to his position as head of a distinguished family. Here, too, the father preferred a life of esteem and luxury, but without direct power (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Thomson 1894, p. 309 ff.; Collocott 1924, p. 180; Gifford, p. 87). A short time after this, with the coming of Le Maire and Schouten in 1616, the historical era begins.

2. *From the first visitors to the civil wars (1616-1793).*

It is no simple matter to relate the visits of certain Dutchmen to certain rulers. Thomson (1894, p. 310) regards the first *Tui Kanokupolu* as a contemporary of Le Maire and Schouten, and there are no reasons to disbelieve this. These Dutchmen do not supply any data concerning this point, as they visited only a few islands in the extreme North of the Tonga group (Sharp, p. 73). Tasman, who arrived at Tongatapu in 1643, offers some more data. As the name of the "Coninck off overste" (king or captain) whom he met there he gives Latouw or Aisij (Tasman, p. 75). We also find the name of Latou in Le Maire (p. 58), while Cook (1803, V, p. 391) and Georg Forster (p. 256) also mention the names Latoo or Latu. We assume that this must be the title of *Tui*. From Tasman's information we get the impression that he met a very distinguished chief, but whether this was the *Tui Tonga* or one of the other top officials cannot be ascertained (cf. Tasman, p. 60 ff.). Tasman brought a number of drawings back from his visit — at least his journal contains a number of prints of Tongatapu. The value of such 17th century pictures, from an ethnological point of view, is rather small (Pott, pass.). Basing himself on traditions, Gifford places this visit in the reign of the 31st *Tui Tonga*. Thomson, on the other hand, believes that it was the 28th *Tui Tonga* who received the Dutchmen hospitably (Thomson 1894, p. 311). A conclusive answer to this problem is impossible for us.

137 /12 cont./
241 of the island, left standing as a protection for the plantings.
174 Polynesians, probably coming from Samoa, reached this Archipelago 1000 to 1500 years ago, and settled many of its islands. All the Tonga Islands, from Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu in the north to 'Ata in the south, formed a kingdom headed by Tu'i Tonga. The
[173] latter lost power after approximately 1470, when it passed over in part to collateral lines (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu) of the
175 ruling family. A revolt in the year 1799 introduced a period of
177 civil-warlike confusion that did not end until 1852. At this time
[669] European influences (5)

5. By "European" influences we mean, above all, West European influences, especially English and, related to these, Australian, New Zealand and North American influences.

has long since reached Tonga. For in the year 1616 Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou were discovered by Shouten and Le Maire, in 1643 Abel Janszon Tasman found 'Ata, 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Tofua and Kao, and from the year 1767 (Wallis) the Tonga Islands were increasingly visited by European ships. In 1795 the first whites settled in the
[797] Archipelago, and the systematic missionary work in the island group began in the year 1826. At the end of the civil wars and after the
175 643 first quarter century of successful mission work, Chief Taufa'ahau of Ha'apai, who possessed certain rights to the ruling title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, headed the united Christian state of all Tonga Islands, as King George Tupou I. (6)

[113] 6. A more detailed description of the development from 1616 to 1852 in G. Koch, Die Fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln /The early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/. Manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949.

642 /13/ Today the Tonga Kingdom with a population of nearly 50,000 natives
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101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 these conditions may be found in many parts of the world such as the islands which dot the oceans. One such microcosmic situation may be observed in the Kingdom of Tonga, which is located as an island chain in the Southwest Pacific Ocean. (Note general mapping of 161 Tonga, Figure 4, Appendix A.)[A] Population growth and diminishing 178 agricultural food production, per capita, as a ratio to total popu- 171 lation, are as serious a threat to national stability in Tonga, as 433 in the more publicized nations of the world. (The reader, if not 000 familiar with the more basic geographic considerations regarding Tonga, may, at this point, wish to review Appendix A.)[B]

161 Even though these conditions exist in Tonga, as well as in 178 other populated island groups, it must be understood that while many 171 of the Pacific islands are now facing a land-population growth cri- 174 sis, only recently have these conditions arisen. Anthropological data indicate that historically the Pacific Basin is a region of relatively recent human settlement (Harris 1966, p. 13). In the case of Polynesia, Tonga, Samoa and the Society Islands formed the core from which the population of other island groups originated (Emory 1974, pp. 732-745). The Tongas were settled probably no 174 earlier than 1100 B.C. The significance of this situation is that 167 when religious quarrels, conditions of war, or overpopulation arose, groups of island people migrated to other islands in, seemingly, an 161 ocean of innumerable islands (Harris 1966, p. 14). However, in the 167 twentieth century, uninhabited island groups are no longer to be found and since 1945, overpopulation has become a growing force,

A[See Category 102, pp. 160-164--Analyst.]
B[See various 13 Categories, pp. 157-170--Analyst.]

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CHAPTER III

POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

Historical Development

174 The initial settlement of the Tonga Islands resulted from southward migrations of Polynesians from Samoa, approximately 3,000 174 years ago (Green and Kelly 1931, p. 64). Pottery fragments and 161 ancient fortifications indicate that settlement was widespread and that a prehistoric population of approximately 30,000 persons developed within the islands (Green and Kelly 1931, p. 64; Maude 1965, 174 p. 27). Between this prehistoric period and European contact in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there elapsed sufficient time for the population to have expanded beyond this level, even with only a modest growth rate. This suggests that at some time during this pre-European period, Tongan population stabilized at a level 175 reasonably in balance with the carrying capacity of the land. This 361 assumption is, in part, confirmed by the writings of Tasman in 1643, and Cook in 1773, each of whom observed widespread settlement throughout the islands. Concerning the island of Tongatapu, maps and descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteen centuries indicate only small scattered areas not included within a system of native food producing plantations (Green 1973, p. 64).

It appears that the concept of village settlement did not exist in Tonga during this early period of European contact. Tasman

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fluctuations of the population of individual islands "are such as to arouse considerable doubts of the accuracy of either the recording or summarizing of the data" (McArthur 1968, p. 81).

It is generally assumed that an estimated pre-European population of 29,700 represents a reasonable figure. This estimate, by Maude (1965), takes into account the entire Tongan group and will suffice as a starting point from which a discussion of modern Tongan population can begin. Table 1 represents a summation of available population data, beginning with the pre-European period. Although it is recognized that the historical statistics prior to the 1956 census are primarily estimations, several broad conclusions can be drawn from this table. An overall pattern of population decline and recovery, common to most of the Pacific island groups, is evident throughout Tongan history. In addition, three contact phases, following Tasman's initial landing on Tongatupa, are suggested and supported within the historical population data of Table 1 (Tupouniua 1957, p. 17).

Phase one, from 1643 to 1799, represents the period of Tongan history for which there are no records "of any large scale destruction through disease, and internal wars were totally unknown" (Tupouniua 1957, p. 17). This period began with Tasman's visit and continued until Cook's last contact with the islands. Due to the absence of wars and disease, a balanced population with a steady, if somewhat slow, growth rate can be assumed.

Phase two represents the civil war period, from 1800 to 1852, a period of "bewilderment and social disintegration marked by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

TABLE 1.--Distribution of Population by Island Groups (Percentages).

	Pre-Contact[1]	1840[1]	1891[2]	1921[3]	1939[4]	1956[5]	1966[6]
Tongatapu	43.9	43.2	--	--	--	55.0	61.9
'Eua	2.0	0.8	--	--	--	3.4	4.4
Tongatapu and 'Eua	45.9	44.0	36.6	42.6	46.2	58.4	66.3
Ha'apai	21.9	21.6	28.2	25.2	21.9	17.5	13.7
Vava'u	21.9	21.6	26.5	24.4	24.0	22.0	17.5
Other[7]	10.4	12.4	8.7	7.8	7.9	2.2	2.6
Total Population	29,700	18,500	19,968	24,935	34,130	56,838	77,429

[1]Estimated by A. Maude in Population, Land and Livelihood: The Kingdom of Tonga (Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1965), p. 27.

[2]Missionary account. Census 1956: 17.

[3]A. H. Wood, History and Geography of Tonga (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1932), Appendix 6.

[4]Census 1956: 41.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Census 1966: 36.

[7]Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu. Niuafo'ou had no population in 1956.

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